

## DEATH OF JACKSON.

BY LEO LA.

In our advanced sheet, we published a memorial poem of General Lee. To day, we have selected a tribute to Stonewall Jackson. Though neither of these distinguished Generals of the Confederacy were North Carolinians, yet it is eminently proper that they should occupy posts of honor in every work intended to commemorate the valor of the troops they so gallantly, skillfully and victoriously led. The corps which won for Jackson so much renown, was largely composed of North Carolinians, and his name and fame are as dear to the citizens of this State as are those of her most cherished sons. No excuse is necessary to be made—none shall we offer.

A shout of triumph, loud and clear,  
From the field to camp exultant ran,  
Was echoed back from Marye's heights,  
And long the banks of Rapidan.

Small claron's blasts, and bugle's notes,  
And trumpet's peal at set of sun,  
Told by the Rappahannock's waves  
Of yet another victory won!

And as exultant was that shout,  
Once gazed as though it could not die,  
But winding over the mountain heights,  
Sounded onward—upward to the sky.

But hark! what means this sudden calm?  
This stillness on the quivering air,  
As if some mighty power had caught  
That true shout and held it there.

Ask not the soldier on the field,  
Or seated upon his horse in vain,  
Ask not the chieftain of the host,  
Their lips could not the tale repeat.

With throbbing heart and downcast eye  
Each wound in silence turn away,  
To weep the price for victory paid,  
The cost of this triumphant day.

But read it in a nation's tears,  
And on its drooping banners spread,  
Jackson—the good, the pure, the brave,  
The Hero of the South—is dead!

That mighty intellect is still—  
That powerful arm all nerveless lies—  
That noble heart no longer thrills,  
Or glows with generous sympathies!

Ah! 'tis as if that star  
In heaven, which burned with glorious light,  
When every eye was turned to him,  
That instant dropped in shades of night.

Love, such as our Napoleon shared,  
Did Jackson's followers to him yield,  
Ten thousand bosoms would have bared  
That noble heart from death to shield!

Yes, are the chieftains who have climbed  
The rugged dizzy heights of fame,  
But what ambition, pride or power,  
Have left some spot upon their name.

But here is one—our Jackson leave!  
We have loved his life, his name entwined;  
And in each Christian's patriot heart,  
To deathless lustre be enshrined.

No stain is on their garments left,  
No withering blight upon their name;  
No act of tyranny or wrong,  
To dim the brightness of their fame!

Come, crown your Hero's tomb with bays;  
Once, laurel's wreath of fond leaves,  
His name no longer may be eek;  
He wears a nobler crown than these!

Heaven send down ere eventide,  
Upon a field of death and strife,  
To open upon the Land of Peace,  
And shine upon the stream of Life.

Then let his name a watchword be;  
His life a model for the brave;  
And while a Southern heart beats warm,  
Be requiems sung around his grave!

## Let all Officers and Soldiers Read This.

Those who have read our prospectus and taken the trouble to examine the plan we proposed will readily perceive that we have made some change in that plan in this the initial number of OUR LIVING AND OUR DEAD. At first, we did not propose to touch operations of North Carolina troops in Virginia or other States, till we had finished up the record on the soil of North Carolina. While we should greatly have preferred to carry out our first plan, and should endeavor to do so in any book that may result from our labors; we have found it impracticable here for the following reasons: The Regimental records embraced in the "Roll of Honor" to be found in the State Library are very incomplete, and in some instances defective. It is necessary that surviving officers and men of those gallant Regiments should read at once what is recorded of them, so that errors may be corrected, omissions supplied, and the Regimental narrative continued till the close of the war. At the same time, company officers will have an opportunity to prepare accounts of their commands. Hence, it becomes absolutely essential that we should somewhat depart from our original plan, in order promptly to lay such important records as those contained in the "Roll of Honor" before the public.

In each issue then, we shall give what the "Roll of Honor" says of one or more regiments, directing attention of survivors thereto and invoking their valuable aid to complete them.

To day we publish what is said of the first and second in the confident hope, that the meagre account of the first, and the incompleteness of the second—the last eighteen months of the war being untouched—will call forth scores of living witnesses and active pens to complete the glorious record which both these regiments made for North Carolina.

At the battle near Kingston, N. C., in March 1862, the N. C. Junior Reserves were engaged, and after repulsing the Yankees, under very heavy fire, Gen. L. S. Baker rode up to Col. J. H. Anderson, commanding 2nd Regt. and exclaimed, "Ah! Colonel, I am proud of your boys, I am proud of them." "Was our first fight and we repulsed the enemy under a very heavy fire." B. B. R.

## Our Living and Our Dead;

OR, TESTIMONY FROM THE BATTLE-FIELDS.

VOL. I.

NEWBERN, N. C., WEDNESDAY, JULY 2, 1873.

NO. 1.

## FROM THE ROLL OF HONOR.

BOOK A.

## A Brief Sketch of the First Regiment.

The First Regiment N. C. Troops was organized by order of Gov. Ellis, at the town of Warrenton, Warren county, North Carolina, June 3rd, 1861, with the following field officers: Colonel—Montford S. Stokes, Wilkes county; Lieutenant Colonel—Matthew W. Ransom, Northampton county; Major—John A. McDowell of Bladen county.

After the Regiment was organized, it was ordered to Virginia, July 23d 1861, to report to the Adjutant General of the Confederate States. This Regiment under the command of Brigadier General Theophilus H. Holmes, spent its first winter on the Potomac, and aided in erecting the batteries at Aquia Creek and Evansport and was complimented for its good discipline.

It participated in all the battles around Richmond, in one of which it lost its gallant commander (M. S. Stokes) and suffered greatly in the loss of men and officers. It bore an honorable part in the battles of South Mountain, Sharpsburg, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville and Winchester. It also acquitted itself well in the invasion of Pennsylvania and participated in the battle of Gettysburg.

Its Brigade commanders have been Generals Theo. H. Holmes, Walker, Ripley, Doles, Taliaferro, R. F. Colston, Geo. E. Stewart.

Division commanders, Theo. H. Holmes, Daniel H. Hill, Trimble and Johnston, and it was attached to Lieutenant General T. J. Jackson's Corps, which Corps is now commanded by Lieutenant General R. S. Ewell Nov. 5th 1863.

Col. M. S. Stokes died July 5th 1862, of wounds.

## FROM THE ROLL OF HONOR.

BOOK A.

HEADQUARTERS 2D REGT. N. C. TROOPS,  
ARMY N. VIRGINIA,  
Feb. 2nd 1864.

Major:—In obedience to your request, I have the honor to submit the following brief sketch of the Second Regiment N. C. Troops. Soon after the passage of the Act authorizing the formation of the Regiments of Volunteers for the war, for State defence, Gov. Ellis, appointed Col. Charles Tew, Principal of the Hillsboro Military Academy, Col. of the 2nd Regiment. His reputation as a skilled tactician, and the satisfaction which his management of Fort Macon soon after the secession of the State had given, rendered him very popular as commander, and so soon as it was ascertained that he was to take charge of the Regiment, a sufficient number of companies tendered their services to fill its ranks, and were ordered to rendezvous near Garysburg N. C., where they were organized and mustered into service, early in June 1861, by Wm. P. Bynum, of Lincoln County N. C. who was appointed Lieut. Colonel. The field organization was completed by the appointment of Wm. R. Cox of Wake co. Major, and N. Collins Hughes of Newbern N. C. was appointed Adjutant. Owing to the detention of Col. Tew upon our Coast Defence, the Regiment was not very promptly appointed, and therefore when an order was received, on the 15th of July, from the Adjutant General of the State to proceed to Virginia, only four companies under Lieut. Colonel Bynum, were sent forward. Capt. Alsey J. Taylor's company, from Nash County, not being sufficiently advanced in drill to enter upon an active campaign (which it was conjectured we would have) he withdrew it from the second, and connected it with the 7th Regiment, which was then in process of being formed. In a few days, however, the remainder of the Regiment proceeded to Richmond, and reported to Brig. Gen. Winder on the 19th, but much to our regret arrived too late to be present and participate in the first battle of Manassas, which was the more regretted as we were believed to be the first Regiment, enlisted for the War in the Confederacy, that completed its organization.

While encamped at Garysburg, measles and mumps prevailed generally among the troops, and upon arriving at Richmond, they were exposed for over twenty four hours to a cold and drenching rain storm, which, in its subsequent effects, proved more disastrous than an ordinary battle. On the 22nd of July, we were ordered to proceed to Fredericksburg Va. near which place we remained in camp until the 23rd of August, when we were ordered to the Potomac River to guard the fortifications near the mouth of Potomac Creek and protect the citizens of King George County from marauding parties, that occasionally landed from the enemy's gunboats. Here we were brigaded with the 1st and 3rd N. C., 30th Virginia, and 3rd Alabama Regiments and were under the command of Brig. General Holmes.

Capt. S. D. Pool's company from Carteret County was detached at this place. It was urged that their information would be invaluable on the coast, and it was transferred to Fort Macon. But the Regiment was soon filled by the arrival of two fine companies, one from Wayne county, under the command of Capt. G. M. Roberts, and the other from Guilford county, under Capt. John H. Morehead. The Regiment, while at this place, was employed in strengthening the position by field works and an active picket duty. Brig. Gen. Holmes having been promoted, Col. J. G. Walker was placed in command of the Brigade, and was soon after promoted to a Brigadier Generalship. Upon our army falling back from Manassas, the Regiment, together with the Brigade, was transferred to Wayne county N. C. to meet a threatened advance of the enemy from the direction of Newbern. On the 30th of April 1862, after all apprehension of offensive operations by the enemy in that section were allayed, we were ordered to report to Brig. General French at Wilmington, and were assigned to duty at Confederate

Point (known prior to and since the war as Federal Point—En.) to protect the fortifications of New Inlet. The enemy having concentrated his forces under McClellan around Richmond, we were ordered to proceed to that place, where we arrived on the 17th of June and were assigned to the Brigade of Brig. General Garland, D. H. Hill's Division. We were soon placed on picket near the Williamsburg Road, and had a severe skirmish, in which our loss was quite serious.

To accommodate Regimental commanders, we were now transferred to Brig. Gen. Geo. B. Anderson's Brigade. Soon commenced that brilliant series of engagements in front of the Confederate Capital and the Regiment took part in the battles of Mechanicsville, Cold Harbor and Malvern Hill, in which we lost about one hundred and fifty men killed and wounded, and among the number were some of our most promising line officers. On the 10th of August, the Regiment accompanied our victorious army into Maryland and took part in the battles of Boonsboro and Sharpsburg. At the latter place, while reconnoitering the position of the enemy, the gallant Colonel Tew fell, lamely by all with whom he had become intimately associated in this cruel war. He was a soldier of varied attainments, an accomplished gentleman and a warm and generous friend, and for the sacrifices which he voluntarily made for our cause and for the service he rendered the State, both before and during the war, his name should occupy a bright page upon the "Roll of Honor."

After the fall of Col. Tew (the Lt. Col. and Major being on sick leave) the command devolved on the gallant Capt. Howard of Wilson co. who soon fell mortally wounded. During this campaign, the Regiment was reduced by its losses to about one hundred and fifty arms bearing men, but upon recrossing the Potomac, we went into camp at Bunker Hill and were soon recruited by the arrival of conscripts to about three hundred men.

During this campaign we were assigned to the Corps of that model soldier and venerated hero, Lt. Gen. Jackson and followed his victorious standard until his universally lamented death. Lt. Col. Bynum was promoted to the Colonelcy, made vacant by the death of Colonel Tew, and Brigadier Gen. Anderson having died of the wounds received at Sharpsburg Brig. Gen. S. D. Ransom was assigned to the command of the Brigade, but being disabled by a wound received at Malvern Hill, did not take formal command until March 1863.

The enemy having concentrated his forces under Burnside opposite Fredericksburg, we left the Valley of Virginia on the 18th of November and reached Port Royal on the Rappahannock, on the 29th, December 12th we marched to Fredericksburg and took part in the battle of the ensuing day, encamped near that city during the remainder of the Winter. Col. Bynum's health becoming impaired in the service, and having been elected Solicitor for the 7th circuit, he resigned his commission, as Colonel in March 1863, and I was promoted to fill the vacancy.

Having witnessed Col. B's. calmness amid the fierce carnage of battle, and having passed many pleasant hours with him around the bivouac fires and drawn instruction from his cultivated and original mind, we saw him depart from the Regiment with a reluctance which we know was shared by himself.

The enemy having effected a crossing ten miles above the town we marched on the 30th of April to meet him, and were engaged with his skirmishers on the 1st and 2nd of May, and on the 3rd took part in storming the breastworks and gaining the glorious victory of Chancellorsville, and in common with the Brigade received the thanks of the Division and Corps commanders upon the field for the part we took in the battle. The Regiment's loss here was very severe. Out of 263 muskets carried into the engagement, our killed numbered 58, and our wounded 171. We moved with Ewell's corps to the Valley in June and assisted in dislodging the enemy from Barryville and Martinsburg. Arrived in Carlisle Pa. June 27th and were soon after engaged in the battle of Gettysburg. Returned to Virginia and were encamped on Southside, on the Rapidan River, Oct. 1st 1863. Crossed the River in October, and pressed "the best army the world ever saw" to its fortifications at Centerville; then returned and crossed on the South side of the Rappahannock. Since October, we have been engaged with the enemy and have sustained a severe loss but an account of this action will come more appropriately in my next report.

The Regiment has been engaged in skirmishes in which it has lost men both from the fire of artillery and musketry, but as my object is to direct attention merely to the principal actions in which it has borne a prominent part, and not to present even a seeming eulogy, I do not deem it important to enumerate them. I regret however that the brevity of this sketch precludes me from referring personally to many meritorious and gallant line officers and privates, who have offered up their lives in this harvest of death, and whose conspicuous and noble daring merits especial commendation; but that duty must be discharged by the Company commanders. The Regiment has often been complimented in common with other troops in this Army, for its firmness and gallantry on the field; yet our thinned ranks speak more eloquently than words, of what we have suffered and endured. But the same spirit that controlled our actions in the beginning of this struggle still animates us. We are "in for the war" and know that there is no retreat but in slavery and chains, and are resolved to lay down our arms only when the last armed foe ceases to molest the free-rides of the "Old North State."

I am, Major,  
Very respectfully,  
Signed, Your Obedt. Servt.,  
WILLIAM R. COX,  
Colonel.

"It is unfortunate for North Carolina that none of her own sons has attempted a history of the war. There was scarcely a corporal in the ranks of the North Carolina troops, who could not write a more truthful history than any yet put forth."  
—[The Land we Love June 1867.]

## Interesting Correspondence.

The annexed correspondence, given here, we think, for the first time to the public, very properly forms the opening chapter to that grand and bloody tragedy which a few months later, had the entire country for its theatre and the civilized world for its audience. Gov. Ellis, who occupied the Executive chair, held it well known, very decided views—he was thoroughly imbued with the doctrine of States rights and believed in the sovereignty and reserved powers of North Carolina, and yet he did not then think the State prepared to take the decided step, to which she was urged by Governor Gist. He thought a majority of his people were opposed to immediate secession, preferring to await "the course of events that may follow." And his views of the opinions of the people of the State were correct. It is very certain, that had the question of secession been then submitted to a vote, it would have been rejected by a very large majority. Later it will be seen when and why the Representatives of the people of North Carolina, in Convention assembled adopted, the Ordinance of Secession, and the great unanimity with which that course was received by their constituents from seashore to mountain top.

Gov. Gist's letter is dated a month, and the reply of Gov. Ellis more than two weeks, prior to the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency. These of us who remember the exciting character of that Presidential campaign, and the bitterness with which it was prosecuted, can admire the fairness of Gov. Ellis towards the majority who opposed his own views, and his calmness in discussing the probable action of the State, upon the question in which he felt so deep a personal interest. As a portion of the unpublished history of the time these letters will be read with interest. Others will follow:

LETTER FROM GOVERNOR GIST.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,

UNIONVILLE S. C., Oct. 5th, 1860.

His Excellency Gov. Ellis:

DEAR SIR:—The great probability, nay almost certainty of Abraham Lincoln's election to the Presidency, renders it important that there should be a free and full interchange of opinions between the Executives of the Southern and more particularly the Cotton States; and while I unreservedly give you my and the probable action of my State, I shall be much pleased to hear from you, that there may be concert of action which is essential to success.

Although I will consider your communication confidential so far as publishing in the newspapers is concerned, yet the information of course will be no service to me unless I can submit it to reliable and leading men in consultation for the safety of our State and the South, and will only use it in this way. It is the desire of South Carolina that some other State should take the lead, or at least, move simultaneously with her.

She will unquestionably call a convention as soon as it is ascertained that a majority of the electors will support Lincoln.

If a single State secedes, she will follow her. If no other State takes the lead, she will secede [in my opinion] alone, if she has any assurance that she will soon be followed by another or other States; otherwise it is doubtful.

If you decide to call a Convention upon the election of a majority of Electors favorable to Lincoln, I desire to know the day you propose for the meeting, that we may call our Convention to meet the same day, if possible. If you will propose any other remedy, please inform me what it will probably be, and any other information you will be pleased to give me.

Yours,

Very respectfully,

(Signed) Wm. H. GIST.

REPLY.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,

RALEIGH, N. C. Oct. 19th 1860.

DEAR SIR:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 5th, which reached me on the 12th inst. In compliance with your request, I will give, as accurately as it is in my power to do, the views and feelings of the people of North Carolina upon the important subject of your communication.

Political differences and party strife have run so high in this state for some years past, and particularly during the past nine months, that anything like unanimity upon any question of a public nature could scarcely be expected; and such is the case with the one under consideration. Our people are very far from being agreed as to what action the State should take in the event of Lincoln's election to the Presidency. Some favor submission, some resistance, and others still would await the course of events that may follow. Many argue that he would be powerless for evil with a minority in the Senate and perhaps in the House of Representatives also; while others say, and doubtless with entire sincerity, that the placing of the powers of the Federal Government into his hands would prove a fatal blow to the institution of negro slavery in this country.

None of our public speakers, I believe have taken the ground before the people, that the election of Lincoln would, of itself, be a cause of secession. Many have said it would not, while others have spoken equivocally.

Upon the whole, I am decidedly of opinion that a majority of our people would not consider the recurrence of the event referred to, as sufficient ground for dissolving the Union of the States. For which reason I do not suppose that our Legislature, which will meet on the 19th prox., will take any steps in that direction; such for instance, as the calling of a convention. Thus, sir, I have given you what I consider to be the sentiments of our people

upon the subject of your letter, and I give it as an existing fact, without comment as to whether the majority be in error or not.

My own opinions, as an individual, are of but little moment. It will be sufficient to say, that as a States' Rights man, believing in the sovereignty and reserved powers of the States, I will conform my actions to the action of North Carolina whatever that may be. To this general observation, I will make but a single qualification;—it is this. I could not, in any event, assent to, or give my aid to, a practical enforcement of the monstrous doctrine of co-ercion. I do not for a moment think that North Carolina would become a party to the enforcement of this doctrine, and will not, therefore, do her the injustice of placing her in that position, even though hypothetically.

With much respect, I have the honor to be, Your obt. svt.

(Signed) JOHN W. ELLIS.  
His Excellency Wm. H. Gist,  
Gov. of So. Carolina.

## A BRIEF HISTORICAL SKETCH

Written by one of the First Men in North Carolina, Some Years Ago, not Intended for Publication, but to be Read by his Children and Intimate Friends.

It will be seen that the writer occupied the Union stand point, and that he did all in his power to avert the civil war, but when it came, he was among the first to spring to arms, and during the four years it lasted bore a conspicuous and distinguished part in the great struggle.

If we felt at liberty to disclose his name which we do not, it would be recognized by the people of North Carolina as one of those sons of which the State is deservedly proud, as one alike conspicuous for gallantry in the field, and for wisdom in the council chambers of the State and nation.

It is by the co-operation and assistance of such men as he, that we hope to make our enterprise worthy of the gallant men to commemorate whose deeds it is undertaken.

We have preferred, for obvious reasons, that these opening chapters should be written by one who opposed secession, so long as opposition was defensible or justifiable; in order that the world may see that when the time for action came, when argument was exhausted and failed; and when the final appeal to "the grim arbiter of nations" was made, and North Carolinians were called upon to co-erce their brethren of the South, or to take up arms in their defence, none were more prompt, none more determined than those with whom the distinguished writer was politically associated; and in order to show that Lincoln's proclamation of the 15th of April destroyed almost the very germ of Unionism in North Carolina. The position of the party of secession was well understood, and requires neither defence nor comment, while the Unionists of that day having been charged with inconsistency in deserting, in a moment, long cherished principles, it is proper that one of the number should show how false was that charge, and how little understood was the course of those with whom he acted.

But we prefer that the writer should tell these things himself; for he tells them better than most men could, and better than we could hope to do. We trust his narrative will be continued to the close.

## CHAPTER I.

THE GREAT CIVIL WAR in the United States, whether considered in regard to its political significance, or to the numbers engaged, or its fierceness or duration, will be set down in history as the great event of the 19th century. Certainly since the great drama of which Waterloo was the closing scene, the world has seen nothing so stupendous in the material evoked, or attended with consequences so momentous upon the destiny of nations. Those consequences will employ the philosophic pen of history for perhaps a hundred years, and even then the task of tracing the undulations of the mighty billows, set in motion by the contest, will not have been completed.

Having been a participant in all these events, in a greater or less degree, from the very beginning, for the benefit of my children and friends, and to assist, as much as possible, in preserving the truth of history, I have concluded to occupy my leisure hours in committing to writing my own share in these commotions. Without aspiring to the dignity or consciousness of history, I shall confine myself principally to the relation of those events in which I was personally an actor, or which happened within my immediate observation. To understand fully my position, it becomes necessary to premise a little as to my political status and associates anterior to the war.

I was raised in the Whig faith and taught to revere the names of Clay and Webster and other great leaders of the party. My father was not only a Whig but a Federalist also, and was a life-long subscriber to the National Intelligencer in whose dignified and statesmanlike columns I learned to value the Federal Union and to admire Conservatism. The Congressional district in which I lived had been intensely Whig and Union; but, of late years so much agitation had been kept up on the question of slavery, and so much alarm excited about Northern aggression on that institution, that my section in common with the whole State, had begun to be Democratic on the ground that the Whig party was not friendly to the negro system. Even at that early day, I thought I saw the downfall of slavery in disunion, and that the friends of the Union were the true friends of slavery.

In all the political canvasses of this period, I took the boldest and most decided ground in favor of the Union, regarding it, not as paramount to all the other issues affecting the rights and institutions of the South; but as the surest and only means of preserving those rights and institutions. The approach of the Presidential election in 1860 began to develop all the elements of discord which plunged the nation into war. The rail of Old John Brown into Virginia may truthfully be said to be the first blow of the conflict; for though it was denied that he acted by authority of any Northern State, yet his conduct was the direct result of the teachings of abolitionism, and the whole puritan element of New England, and its ramifications, of which he was a fair type, both in his courage and his villany, sympathized with him and, openly or secretly, applauded his attempt at arson and murder. In Congress, the debates became acerbic and furious, and personal altercations and violence became frequent. During the Presidential campaign I canvassed my own and contiguous districts and some sections of an adjoining State, and did everything in my power to secure the success of Union principles. But the abolition candidate was elected by a strictly sectional vote, and I knew that the crisis was upon the country. There was *no doubt little hope of averting war*. Vast numbers in the South who still held out for the Union, had declared they would regard the election of Mr. Lincoln as sufficient cause for dissolution. That event had now happened, and immediately the work of disorganization began. The fiery spirits of South Carolina took the lead and began to prepare for a Convention.

Much disheartened, but not entirely hopeless the Southern Unionists returned to Congress, in December 1860. But few in numbers, their situation was most embarrassing. They sympathized deeply with all the grievances of the South, but yet could not co-operate with the fiery and intemperate spirits who sought a remedy for these ills in secession. The few really Conservative members from the North intimidated by the fierce and fanatical spirits at their backs rendered them no aid. Moderate men always sink in revolutions, and the noisy and the furious assume control. Thus, North and South, the voice of Conservative moderation was swallowed up in the roar of the great tempest, which was fast approaching. Even at this time, a large majority of my native State was opposed to secession. But the great danger was that North Carolina would be forced, against her judgment, to take sides with the Cotton States. All agreed that we could not stand by and see a sister coerced by force of arms, seeing that it would make an end of the sovereignty of States, consolidate all power in the central government, and constitute a precedent which would serve the central despotism as a excuse for crushing us into dust, whenever it saw proper. It was well known then that active hostilities once begun, we would be forced into the contest, or agree tamely to our ruin.

The next most obvious policy of Union men, therefore, was to demand "co-operation," a general consultation of all slave States, and the imposition of terms, that no single State should be permitted, by separate action, to force the others into revolution. We urged that by so doing we could either prevent war, or by joint concert of action present such a formidable array as would ensure success. But to avoid the great force of this proposition, so well calculated to crush the whole movement by permitting full weight to the great States of Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina and Virginia, the extreme men of the South resolved upon the policy of "precipitation"; that is, each State acting for itself and by plunging into trouble headlong, dragging their unwilling friends with them. This was as cruel as it was unwise and ruinous. Mr. Yancey of Alabama has the doubtful honor of being its originator, who, fearing the conservatism of the great border States, upon whose shoulders were to fall the chief burdens of the war, boldly declared the design to "precipitate them into revolution." Alas! it was successful.

(However mistaken and ruinous may have been the policy thus inaugurated, tens of thousands in the South believed it to be the true policy, and when it culminated in war, they bravely surrendered their fortunes and their lives—all indeed save honor—in vindication of the honesty of their convictions.—Ed.)

When Congress assembled, the nation was in the highest pitch of excitement. The disunionists, North and South, went to agitating with all their might, mutually assisting each other. The Union men all over the country roused themselves to save the land from war. The principal measures proposed were those of Mr. Crittenden of Ky., the resolve of the Committee of thirteen, and those of the "Peace Congress," as it was called, being an assemblage of eminent men from twenty five States got together on a proposition from the Legislature of Virginia. Of these several propositions and their histories, being matters of Congressional record, it is unnecessary for me to speak particularly. Suffice it to say, they were utterly unsuccessful, and watching anxiously, as I did, the progress of all these, I became thoroughly convinced of the utter want of faith in many who were pretending to compromise. The extreme men from the North and the South, generally met and voted together against all moderate terms, in fulfillment of the old maxim, which almost deserves to be called an axiom.

A few days after Congress assembled, the telegraph announced that South Carolina, through her convention, had left the Union! Her Representatives immediately vacated their seats and went home. Gov. Pickens at once seized all the U. S. forts, arsenals and other property within the borders of his State, except Forts Moultrie and Sumter in Charleston Harbor, which being garrisoned by a small force under Major Anderson, he set about promptly to reduce by force. Troops were levied in that State, and in every other one of the cotton States hurried preparations were making to call conventions, and volunteer companies were organizing. All eyes were turned to President Buchanan to know what he would do now that the property of the United States had been seized, and its authority openly defied by a State, claiming to have absolved itself from allegiance to the Constitution. His message, sent in a few days before, had been a bundle of confused learning, affirming the rights of the States, denying their right to secede, and disapproving the coercion of them, if they did secede. The whole of it was substantially an excuse for not doing his duty, by

(Continued on second page.)